The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

Faith Steadies the Politician

By Brooks Hays

Can Christians Ever Aid Communism?

By John C. Bennett

Peace Without Peace

An Editorial

JUNE 11, 1952

In This Issue

JOHN C. BENNETT

wrote the article which we carry in this issue for one of the international ecumenical organizations, and so he is speaking to Europeans and Asians as well as to Americans. Professor of Christian theology and ethics at Union Theological Seminary, New York, he has long been interested in communism—witness his latest book, *Christianity and Communism* (1947). Two years ago he traveled to India under auspices of the International Missionary Council to take part in conferences on Christianity and communism. An article summarizing his reflections on the subject appeared in our columns Feb. 28, 1951, followed by another, April 15, 1951. Dr. Bennett received his S.T.D. from Union in 1929 and was ordained to the Congregational Christian ministry ten years later. In 1937 he was secretary to the Oxford Conference's important section on the church and economic life.

BROOKS HAYS

has been chosen as representative in Congress of the 5th Arkansas district in every election since 1943. Before that, as he relates in his article, he had many political disappointments, though he was appointed to serve on a number of state and federal commissions which attempted to deal constructively with the rural situation. Among other posts of that general nature, he held the chairmanship of the Arkansas Rural Church Commission in the late 1920's. After being admitted to the Arkansas bar in 1922, he practiced law in that state, first in his native Russellville and then in Little Rock. Mr. Hays is a Southern Baptist. Previous contributors to the series "How My Faith Helped in Decisive Hours" were John Foster Dulles (March 19) and Lea Demarest Taylor (May 7). Next week we shall have an article by Attorney Wilbur La Roe of Washington, D. C.

Contents

EDITORIAL
Editorial Paragraphs 691
Peace Without Peace 694

SIMEON STYLITES: Exclamation Points 695

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES
Can We Ever Support Communism? by John C. Bennett 696
Faith Steadies the Politician, by Brooks Hays 698

BOOKS
Witness, by Whittaker Chambers 700
Books in Brief 701

CORRESPONDENCE 701

NEWS OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD
Presbyterian, U.S.A., General Assembly ..704
Oklahoma City 704
Minneapolis 706
The Carolinas 707
Southeast Asia 708
Scotland 709
Holland 710

CURRENT FEATURE FILMS 711

The Christian Century

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Coming Events

June 10-20. Industrial Chaplaincy Institute, Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J.
June 11-15. Lutheran Free Church 56th Annual Conference, Fargo, N. D.
June 11-18. Methodist Student Regional Leadership Training Conference, Lake Junaluska, N. C.
June 12-16. American Friends Service Committee Institutes of International Relations, Topeka, Kan; Fort Worth and Dallas, Tex.
June 13-15. International Society of Christian Endeavor National Citizenship Convocation for Youth, Washington, D. C.
June 13-19. Geneva Region Student Conference, College Camp, Wis.
June 13-20. Middle Atlantic Region Christian Movement Conference, Carlisle, Pa.
June 14-20. Y M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. Regional Student Conference, Seabeck, Wash.
June 15-20. National Council of Churches Broadcasting and Films Commission Religious Radio Workshop, Berkeley, Calif.
June 15-20. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Seattle.
June 15-21. N.C.C. Conference on the Christian World Mission, Boulder, Colo.
June 16-20. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Greensboro, N. C.
June 16-20. N.C.C. Broadcasting and Films Commission Religious Radio Workshop for Town and Country Pastors, State College, Pa.
June 16-21. Association of Council Secretaries Annual Meeting, Lake Geneva, Wis.
June 16-25. N.C.C. Foreign Missions North American Assembly on African Affairs, Springfield, Ohio.
June 16-July 3. Lewis and Clark College Graduate Workshop on Intergroup Education, Portland, Ore.
June 17-22. United Evangelical Lutheran Church 56th Annual Convention, Albert Lea, Minn.
June 17-24. National Temperance League 7th Annual Training School, Decatur, Ill.
June 17-25. National Baptist Youth Conference, Green Lake, Wis.
June 17-July 17. Iliff School of Theology School for Town and Country Ministers, Denver.
June 18-22. Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod) 63rd Annual Convention, Fairport Harbor, Ohio.
June 18-25. Congregational Christian General Council, Claremont, Calif.
June 18-July 25. Winona Lake School of Theology, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 22-28. Church of the Nazarene 14th General Assembly, Kansas City, Mo.
June 23-July 12. Perkins School of Theology Seminar on Religious Perspectives for College Teaching, Dallas.
June 23-July 25. Interdenominational School for Rural Leaders, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
June 24-26. National Lutheran Conference Rural Health Workshop, Dubuque, Iowa.
June 25-28. Baptist University Pastors' Conference, Green Lake, Wis.
June 25-29. International Council of Community Churches Annual Conference, East Lansing, Mich.
June 25-30. Association of American Baptist Educational Institutions, Green Lake, Wis.
June 25-July 3. Conference on the Christian World Mission, Northfield, Mass.
June 28-July 6. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Whittier, Calif.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

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EDITORIAL

IN THE MOST important case to come before it in years, the Supreme Court on June 2 ruled that seizure of the steel mills by President Truman was illegal. By a vote of 6 to 3, the highest tribunal of the land set a limit to inherent, implied or emergency powers as exercised by the chief executive. In so doing, it upheld Federal Judge David A. Pine's April 29 decision, which caused such consternation in administration circles. Even though the Supreme Court's ruling was used by Philip Murray of the steelworkers' union as the occasion for calling a strike, its decision was soundly based and in the long run will prove of benefit to the nation. The court held in principle that ours is still a government of laws, and not of men. It declared that "the President's power to issue the [seizure] order must stem either from an act of Congress or from the Constitution itself. There is no statute that expressly authorizes the President to take possession of property as he did here. Nor is there any act of Congress to which our attention has been directed from which such a power can fairly be implied." Later in the decision, the court held that the seizure of the mills "cannot properly be sustained as an exercise of the President's military power as commander in chief of the armed forces." Also: "Nor can the seizure order be sustained because of the several constitutional provisions that grant executive power to the President." That demolished the arguments used to justify not only the seizure but many other executive acts since 1933. Now the question arises as to whether Congress will discharge the responsibility the court has laid on it. Or has it done all it is capable of doing in passing the Taft-Hartley Act?

Supreme Court Limits Presidential Powers

Senate Group Opposes Puerto Rican Rights

SOME senators have curious notions concerning the most commonly used terms. For example, the Senate committee on interior and insular affairs voted to strike the human rights section out of the Puerto Rican constitution, which must be ratified by Congress before it goes into effect, on the ground that it was "socialistic." This constitution, which is modeled in part on the human rights covenant of the United Nations, lists as goals to be attained eventually the "right of every person" to free education, to work, to adequate living standards, and to "social protection" if jobless, aged or sick. Senator Malone of Nevada says "this could be dangerous. Anything that far-reaching has no place in a constitution set up under the auspices of the United States government." To call these aims socialistic is nonsense. Socialism is a well defined theory of government which aims at public ownership of land and capital and the public collective management of industries. To refuse to permit the Puerto Rican people to define as desirable education, employment, a rising standard of living and adequate medical care on the ground that these aims are socialistic holds the United States up to the ridicule of the world, including all Latin American nations. In March the people of Puerto Rico approved by a vote of 374,649 to 83,923 the constitution which our lawmakers seem incapable of understanding. A suggestion as to the source of the opposition which Senator Malone voiced is found in another action of his committee. It demanded that there be added to the constitution a section guaranteeing parochial and private schools against interference by the Puerto Rican government. Members of both houses of Congress should hear from their constituents in opposition to this senatorial lampooning of democracy and in favor of ratifying the constitution which the Puerto Rican people have approved for themselves.

Civil Strife Erupts In South Korea

WITH a presidential election coming late this month, the thin crust of civil order has broken through in Korea. President Rhee has arrested some members of the national congress and others have gone into hiding. The area in and around Pusan, the temporary capital, has been placed under martial law by the aged president. This development is neither unprecedented nor unexpected. The guerrilla activity which President Rhee uses as the excuse for his action is nothing new, and his attempt to link the legislators with it is a rather transparent effort to justify his high-handed actions. President Rhee has declared that he is not a candidate for re-election, but his tactics seem designed to intimidate the legislative body which is, under the constitution of the republic of Korea, the body that does the electing. In this situation, it is reported that officers of the Korean army have hinted that they will take over the government if they get a nod from the United Nations command. This would be the worst way out of a chaotic and dangerous state of affairs. If the United Nations uses its influence in any way, it should prevail on President Rhee to make good his declared intention and retire. Then the legislative assembly could elect one of its own number, or some member of the president's cabinet,

to the presidency. It is true that in a land almost completely lacking newspapers, radios or other means of mass communication, President Rhee is the only man who is widely known. But there are several strong and able men in the government. One of them could become widely known if he had the opportunities President Rhee has had. The alternative to such action would be for the United Nations to place Korea under trusteeship until the present emergency is past and general elections can be held. Such an arrangement would be distasteful to Rhee and to many other Koreans, but it would more nearly correspond with the realities of the Korean situation than a continuance of arbitrary and capricious one-man rule.

Italy's Vote Shows Communism Not the Only Menace

EVER SINCE Premier de Gasperi's Christian Democratic Union took office in Italy after the war, it has sought American support on the ground that if it should be defeated communism would take over. Until recently, this has seemed the only threat of any consequence to the De Gasperi government. The United States has spent billions, by manipulation of war surpluses and by Marshall plan allocations, trying to keep off this communist danger. But the provincial and municipal elections held in southern Italy and Sicily late last month showed that it is not only, or even chiefly, communism which threatens the church-controlled C.D.U. government. True, the Communists made a good showing. They won as many votes as at any time in the past—more than in 1948—and they even won the provincial (not the municipal) election in Rome. However, the real sensation of this year's elections was the vote rolled up by the Italian Social Movement—the M.S.I.—with some help from the monarchists. The M.S.I. is a revived fascist party; its hero is the "martyr" Mussolini. It carried the elections in eleven cities, including Naples, Bari and Palermo. It has thus become a "third force" in Italian politics almost as strong as the other two forces, the C.D.U. and the Communists. And most of the votes by which it has come to the front came from the million votes which the C.D.U. lost. It looks, therefore, as though the failure of De Gasperi and his party to make good on their pledges of land and social reform is going to plague Italy with a revival of fascism, a threat more immediate and menacing than that from communism. The *New York Times* in reporting the election results said that "it seems clear" that the C.D.U. will lose its control of the Italian parliament next year, and that a confused situation will then follow "resembling that of the French parliament." It was out of just such confusion that Mussolini seized power.

Is European Catholicism Changing Its Policy?

DO the reports from Austria indicate that the Roman Catholic Church in Europe is moving toward a new policy in state relations? To be sure, Austria is not Europe, and a policy adopted there may not appeal to the church in independent countries where it now exerts great political power. Neither may it appeal to the Vatican. But Austria has been one of the most Catholic of European states. Its church party has been in power most of the time since the days of Monsignor Seipel and Dollfuss. It is holding office today through the government of Chancellor Figl. Yet a recent meeting of about 100 bishops and clergy and 200 laymen voted to recommend to a church rally scheduled for September a complete severance of the ties between the church and Chancellor Figl's Christian Social party and to drop the idea of a state church. Declaring that ties with the past have been broken, the statement of altered policy to be submitted to the September meeting reads: "We must never return to the status of state church which degraded the church to a sort of ideological superstructure over a national apparatus and turned the priests into passive civil servants. . . . A free church can live only in a free society. The church must become an advocate of freedom for the Austrian people." Reports from Vienna predict that the new policy will be officially adopted. Since the war, where Catholicism has not held a special position with relation to the state, as in Spain, Portugal and Ireland, its policy has been to encourage and work through church political parties. By that means it has acquired great influence in France, Italy, West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Austria. It is worth noting that official observers from all these countries and from the Vatican will be at the September meeting where the church in Austria will consider, and probably adopt, this new policy of entire divorcement from political alliances. The preliminary conference of Austrian Catholics decided that their slogan should be: "A free church in a free state." Shades of Pius IX!

Launch Church Party in British Columbia

ANYONE looking for irony in the day's news can contrast the dispatches from Austria, as commented on in the preceding paragraph, with some that are coming these days from British Columbia. As our readers know, Roman Catholics in that part of Canada have been trying, unsuccessfully, to force the provincial educational authorities to assume much of the financing of their parochial schools. Pressure has been exerted on the major political parties to endorse the "integration" of the Catholic schools in the public school system. The parties have refused. So there suddenly has appeared a "Christian Democratic" party, which is running candidates in Vancouver and its environs. The party insists that it is not a Catholic church party. But one of its candidates is the man who proposed formation of a new party at the recent convention of the British Columbia Catholic Education Association. And an officer of that association has called on Roman Catholics to drop their old party loyalties and form a united front on what is usually spoken of in British Columbia as the minority school issue. "Politicians," says this Catholic leader, John Busch, "listen only to strength as measured in votes." Despite all formal denials, the Christian Democratic party will be considered by the voters in this week's election to be a Catholic church party, and those who vote for its candidates will do so in the belief that if it ever grows strong enough to take over the provincial government it will thereupon "integrate" the church's schools in

the public school system. Thus while some Catholics in Austria, after long and harsh experience, move to abandon the policy of supporting church political parties, in British Columbia the parochial school issue begets on this continent the first attempt either Canada or the United States has known to establish that ill-omened form of political action.

Ambassador Sayre Enters Service of the Church

AMBASSADOR FRANCIS B. SAYRE, 67, has resigned as U.S. representative on the trusteeship council of the United Nations and is going to Japan in the service of his church. In an unprecedented move, he has put behind him a distinguished career in diplomacy and is sailing in September to be the personal representative of Presiding Bishop Sherrill of the Protestant Episcopal Church in that important country. He is doing so because he rightly believes that "Japan today in the long view is in many respects one of the most strategic and critical spots in the world. . . . The time has come for Americans to give Japan of their very best. That includes at the very core the Christian way of thinking." Mr. Sayre's action should lift the vision of every Christian in this country. It is entirely possible that it may open to a man of unusual Christian devotion opportunities for the greatest service of his life. Japan is at a turning point, and the next few years will be fateful ones for her and for the world, which cannot ignore the central importance of Asia in world affairs. On January 30, 1946, The Christian Century called upon the churches to send a commission of "the most eminent Christians" to Japan to do just what Mr. Sayre proposes to do now. No American Christian is better equipped than he to interpret to Japanese leadership the spiritual basis of democratic life. In Siam the name of Sayre stands beside that of Lincoln as the two greatest Americans. Between 1923 and 1930 Mr. Sayre, then adviser to the Siamese government, negotiated a series of treaties which freed that nation from numerous infringements on its sovereignty. When the war broke out, he was high commissioner in the Philippines. Later, as assistant secretary of state in the U.S. government, he led in the negotiation of trade agreements which superseded some of our former discriminatory tariff laws. After the war, he was diplomatic adviser to the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Administration. We salute Mr. Sayre and congratulate the Episcopal Church on this new mission to Japan.

Court Finds Sacrilege No Legal Concept

BY the unanimous decision which the Supreme Court rendered in the so-called "Miracle" case, three things of moment were accomplished. First, sacrilege was struck down as a criminal concept. Second, movies were brought under the free speech protections of the First Amendment. Third, the attempt of Roman Catholic authorities in New York to lay down the law to licensing bodies and the courts was rebuked. "The Miracle" is a movie produced in Italy by Roberto Rosselini, better known to the American public for his romantic entanglements than for his unusual gifts as a director of films. It had been shown all over Europe and in many parts of the United States, and in 1950 was awarded the prize of the New York Film Critics as the best foreign movie of that year. Almost two years after its first license was issued the regents of the University of the State of New York rescinded that license under great pressure from Catholics, led by Cardinal Spellman, and the New York court of appeals, holding the film "sacrilegious," upheld the action of the regents. The Supreme Court unanimously reversed the New York verdict. It held "sacrilege" a concept incapable of legal definition in terms which would not launch the courts on an endless inquisition into religious beliefs. By implication, therefore, it held it no business of government to employ its powers to punish what a church or any religious group may proclaim sacrilegious. At the same time, the court reversed its old ruling in Mutual Film Corporation *v.* Ohio Industrial Commission (1915) that the movies are simply an entertainment business and declared that the guarantees of the First Amendment apply to them as well as to other media of communication. By this decision it was again shown that the federal bench continues to be the nation's strongest line of defense against all forms of clerical hunger for power. It is surprising, perhaps, that the Supreme Court should have been thus unanimous less than a month after its verdict in the Beauharnais case upholding the Illinois law against group libel. The parallels between what a church regards as a group libel (sacrilege) and what a racial organization may so regard are very close, and the importance of free speech is equally great in both instances.

Methodist Conference Bars Tax Objector

RICHARD H. FICHTER, a young Methodist minister in the Wyoming annual conference (which is in Pennsylvania), was turned down for ordination as an elder because of his refusal to pay income tax. Mr. Fichter is one of the small group of conscientious objectors who seek to dramatize their "testimony" against war by withholding that proportion of their tax which, they think, goes to war preparations. Mr. Fichter, whose salary was $2,400 last year, owed no tax last year, but said he endorsed the nonpayment principle. A little more than a hundred years ago northern Methodist conferences debarred candidates from ordination for holding abolitionist beliefs. . . . Reports from Washington indicate that Congress will again adjourn without making any disposal of the $1,250,000 "frozen fund" earned by c.o.'s during the war. The c.o.'s have asked that it be turned over to CARE to send medical materials, textbooks and other nonmilitary supplies abroad. But Congress keeps the proposal pigeonholed. . . . The Senate finance committee has approved a change in the internal revenue law which would permit exemption from tax of up to 20 per cent of income if given to religious, charitable or educational organizations. . . . Delegates from the (Anglican) Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, the Methodist Church of Southern Asia, the British Methodist churches, the North India Baptists and the United Church of Northern India and Pakistan (Presbyterian and Congregationalist) have agreed on a tentative plan for form-

ing a United Church of North India. Disciples and United Presbyterians "observed" the sessions at Allahabad, but did not participate. The plan now goes to the several denominations for approval or revision. . . . Hans Asmussen, former chancellor of the Evangelical Church in Germany, has resigned from the Faith and Order commission of the World Council of Churches. His resignation was apparently a result of the struggle within the EKD between the pro- and anti-Niemöller factions; he charged Niemöller with responsibility for involving the World Council in politics. Dr. Asmussen was vice-chairman of one of the commissions which prepared a report, that on "Ways of Worship," for the Faith and Order conference at Lund, Sweden, in August.

Peace Without Peace

THE LONG-HERALDED "contractual agreement" with Germany has been signed. The Bonn government has also joined the European Defense Community. But the most striking fact about these diplomatic actions which the press says mark a high spot in history, is the lack of enthusiasm with which all parties to them have watched their completion. The agreement signed at Bonn is said to be equivalent to a peace treaty with Germany, and hence to mark the end of another world war. The pledge to create a six-nation army is said to be assurance that if the communist armies should strike westward they would be met by a solid, unified Western defense. Yet there is no rejoicing, no sense that the world situation has appreciably improved over what it was before the foreign ministers affixed their signatures to the dozens of documents spread before them in Bonn and Paris on May 26 and 27. Why not?

The reasons are so many and so clear that it is hardly necessary to recite them. This "peace" is not a peace with Germany, but only with part of Germany. It leaves a divided Germany to trouble Europe. It leaves the powers which defeated Germany more sharply divided than ever. It satisfies few elements within Germany and just as few outside. Within seven years of the defeat of the German army it provides for the creation of new German armed forces which are to be the core of western Europe's military strength. Not a man signed the Bonn and Paris agreements without, deep down inside, fearing the outcome. France was so openly fearful that at the last moment she almost balked entirely.

I

Now that the formal papers have been signed, what *is* going to happen? Prophecy was never more perilous, but there are certain things already clear and others which appear very likely. There will be, it is certain, a bitter struggle over ratification in almost every country. Opposition may prove as formidable in the U.S. Senate as in the Bonn or Paris parliament. At Bonn the Social Democrats, who would win any free and general German election, have already served notice that they will fight ratification. If they hold their ranks, they will need to pick up only a few supporters from the smaller parties in West Germany to outvote the Adenauer party. At Paris a temporary coalition of De Gaullists and Communists could easily defeat ratification, as the jitters in the French cabinet showed when the hour for Foreign Minister Schuman's signing approached. What will happen at Washington cannot be foretold, but it is safe to predict that in the debate over ratification all the dissatisfactions with the postwar foreign policy of the administration will come to a head.

And what will the Russians do? There are some who fear lest the Soviet Union may resort to aggressive retaliation. Communists have filled the air with noisy warnings, but we do not expect Moscow to make any moves of a military nature. Rather, we look for a stepped-up effort to make all Germans fear that the agreements made by Chancellor Adenauer mean a lasting division of their country. We expect stepped-up efforts to make the French, British, Italian, Belgian and Dutch peoples apprehensive of a revived German militarism. We expect stepped-up efforts to tie down American military strength in Korea and the Far East. By such means, it seems likely, the men in the Kremlin will hope to see the alliance which has been formed against them disintegrate through the operations of what a Marxist would call its own inner contradictions.

None of this adds up to belief in any quarter that more security has been gained in western Europe. On the contrary. And an increase in nervous tension always carries with it a heightened danger.

II

We may presently learn, however, that the most serious problem to result from the Bonn and Paris agreements is not their effect on Russia. Walter Lippmann, who has been lecturing at Oxford and visiting other parts of western Europe for several weeks past, returned at the time the agreements were signed with a warning that it is not Russia, and not Germany, which now needs to be watched. It is, insists Mr. Lippmann, France and England. Of course Mr. Lippmann is not infallible in his analysis of foreign affairs, but he is no fool. We place more confidence in his judgment than in that of the Pentagon. It is his judgment that the new agreements impose military and economic burdens on France and Britain under which they will collapse unless they receive far more help—*far* more help —from the United States than has so far been given them.

Here is a warning which will prove extremely unpalatable to Congress and to the American people. Both are at present critical of the large amounts being spent to assist British and French rearmament. Congress at this moment is cutting at least a billion out of the administration's askings for aid to our European allies. Yet it is the Lippmann prediction that, with France already overextended in Indo-China and North Africa, and Britain in Hongkong, Malaya, Egypt and on the Continent, both will not be able to fulfill the promises they are making to the new European defense system unless the American administration elected next November is prepared to finance them to a degree now not contemplated. In the event that the United States does not greatly expand its aid, he foresees that the EDC and NATO will collapse, and the Germany which went down to defeat in 1945 will emerge, within a decade, with the strongest army and the strongest economy in western Europe.

It is known that France has told Washington the United States must assume a much larger portion of the costs of the fighting in Indo-China if the French contingent in the projected EDC army is to be built up to the size of the authorized German contingent. (On May 29 it was announced that the 150th shipload of U.S. arms had reached Indo-China. This figures out to about 1,500,000 *tons* of weapons and ammunition already supplied.) There is widespread belief that France's last-minute hesitation over signing the Bonn and Paris agreements extracted from Secretary Acheson some sort of promises regarding what the U.S. will do to support France in both Indo-China and North Africa. Senate ratification of the new agreements is unlikely to be forthcoming unless these promises are made known. But if public opinion then holds that Mr. Acheson has promised too much, that likewise will endanger ratification.

III

The fact is that the Bonn and Paris agreements, which American pressure has finally produced, not only will involve, if ratified, much larger financial and military contributions by the United States, but also will do almost nothing to solve this country's underlying problem in Europe. That problem is not military; it is psychological. Its essential element is the fear which most western Europeans have of American intentions—the fear to which Aneurin Bevan, the rising star of British politics, is giving such eloquent expression these days. We are so convinced of the purely defensive nature of our policy that we are nearly incapable of grasping the European attitude. Yet it is the sober truth that at this moment, despite all argument and all evidence to the contrary, a majority of the people in western Europe think that the United States is doing just one thing—it is getting ready for war with Russia, and it is prepared to impose any sacrifices on its allies to win that war.

So long as this conception of American purposes persists, our progressive loss of confidence and support among our European allies will persist. It will persist, we fear, so long as American interest seems to them concerned only with building up military strength along the communist frontiers. Even an American commitment to take over a much larger share in the costs of rearming our allies, if the next administration could secure it, would not exorcise this psychological rejection by those who should be our friends and comrades. The only way to do that would be to give convincing proof that we are as ready to meet the communists in negotiation as by opposing arms to arms.

Such a gesture as was made recently in the disarmament commission of the United Nations, when the United States offered to equalize its armies with those of the Soviet Union, does not reach the core of the problem. Only an announced *and ceaselessly advertised* readiness to negotiate *all* issues will begin to do that. But this is something the present administration, taking its foreign policy from the Pentagon, has never been ready to do. Its timid endorsements of the practice of negotiation almost invariably have been cast in the form, "We will negotiate, but—." Will the Republicans promise that, if they should win in November, they will make readiness to negotiate the first thing the world's peoples know about our European policy?

Exclamation Points

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Two birds with one stone this time. I have been afflicted with an acute case of spring fever and cannot write, so I enclose a carbon copy of a letter I have written, under great provocation, to the Underwood Typewriter company, as follows:

UNDERWOOD TYPEWRITER CO.
HARTFORD, CONN.

DEAR SIRS: Here's a chance to make the mechanical advance of the century! And, incidentally, save me hours of awkward pawing around your estimable keyboard. There are lots of nice keys on it. But, for heaven's sake, *why don't you add a key with an exclamation point?*

For me, that would rank with the invention of the steam engine. The hours I've spent with thee, dear typewriter, are like a string of thistles to me. Trying to make an exclamation point, I have to land on the shift key, then hit the apostrophe sign, then the back space and then the period. Four operations, and a miracle when it comes out right!

I notice that you advertise the joys of your "Family Keyboard," to wit (and I quote from your deathless writings):

> Not only has Father available the commonly used business symbols such as $, &, %, *, etc. . . . Junior and Sister, for school work, have the fundamental arithmetical symbols: +, —, ×, = and even the degree mark (°), while Mother sticks pretty much to the alphabet.

Incidentally that seems kind of rough on mother. The fancy keys for the rest of the family; mother gets the neck, as usual. "Sticks to the alphabet"—no fancywork!

Now I know the answer I lay myself open to. A nasty one. You will say, "My dear sir, if you could only learn to write clearly, you wouldn't need so many exclamation points. People might get your meaning without a string of ! ! !—indicating, 'This must mean something, but I am not sure what; so look carefully!!' "

Just the same, your keyboard, bare of symbols of wonder or delight, is a sign of one thing the matter with us. Not enough exclamation points. Life needs a lot of them. Our world is full of question marks. We cannot get away from them, and should not try. But I will come to bat for this proposition: When the question marks outnumber the exclamation points, there is a Very Unfavorable Balance of Trade in the personal ledger. Troubles? Yes. Then all the more need for a new key to be hit often, signifying, "Here is something so undebatably good, so full of wonder and joy, that it must be punctuated with an exclamation." That will help greatly to keep life out of the dumps.

Take spring, for instance. There is a lot more to it than spring fever. I like Oliver St. John Gogarty's

What can we say but Glory Be,
When God breaks out in an apple tree (exclamation point).

Or Edna Millay's

O world, I cannot hold thee close enough (exclamation point).

Sentimental? Yes, of course. But it has a lot of nice little, or big, exclamation points, which change life from a dreary trudge into a pageant. There are lots of others.

There are no exclamation points in the manuscripts of the New Testament. But one man mentioned in it—the name was Paul—was notoriously given to exclamations. He always carried around a sackful of them and sprinkled them generously over his pages. Sometimes he ran short of grammar, but he never ran short of exclamations. For instance, "O, the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God!" He needed that extra key that I am clamoring for (exclamation point!).

How about it?

Yours hopefully, SIMEON STYLITES.

Can We Ever Support Communism?

By John C. Bennett

IN COUNTRIES where great changes are needed and where the communist movement is the one movement that promises results, Christians are tempted to take the position that they will support some aspects of communism and reject others. A country may need a social revolution and communism may appear to be a kind of midwife of that social revolution. In spite of many things that a Christian may oppose in communist methods, he may well ask: What other midwife of revolution is there on the horizon? As he studies communism he finds many things to approve in it. I refer to such things as the communist criticisms of many features of capitalism and imperialism, the communist practice in regard to racial discrimination, the communist goal of a classless society, the generous motives that inspire many people to give themselves to communism with selfless commitment. Then there are many particular elements in communist propaganda at a given time that may appeal. Communists succeed in convincing many people that they represent world peace. They promise to overcome every local grievance.

Christians who share the outlook that I am describing may conclude that, on balance, they are against communism, but if they arrive at this conclusion by finding two counts in favor of communism and three against it their opposition is not likely to be very strong. They may quite easily convince themselves that it might not be a very great calamity if communism were given a chance. This idea may often be supported by the suggestion that the worst aspects of communism as a revolutionary method may wear off in time and a deposit of real reform would be left. It may also be supported by awareness of the objectionable features of most of those groups which are strongly anticommunist.

When Alternatives Are Lacking

I doubt if anyone who does not feel the force of this way of thinking about communism is able to understand the spiritual problem of Christians in many countries. Communism is evil in many respects, but what about the alternatives that are likely to have enough power to get results? May they not be much worse? The ideal way in which to take account of what is good in the purpose of communism is to find an alternative program which will embody many of those purposes but avoid the totalitarian methods that are characteristic of communism. That is sound enough in the abstract, but what are we to say when the prospects of having such an alternative program are almost nonexistent? If we say that our opposition to communism depends on these prospects, our opposition may be very feeble. In fact, it may be assumed in some situations that there is more hope in getting into the communist movement and trying to adapt its program to make it more nearly approach that desired alternative. There is always the possibility of believing that a particular country will somehow be able to become communistic with a difference.

The answer to this position must take the form of grave warnings based upon what we know about the nature of communism and on the record to date in countries which have been under Communist rule for several years and show that the good elements in it have turned out to be the entering wedge for the evil. Communism wins power because it has much truth in its teaching, because it appeals to the loyalties and not primarily to the cynical self-interest of men, because it is able to soften up opposition by stimulating in people exactly the kind of thinking that I have been describing. After it wins power there is a series of stages in its development. It usually begins with a united-front government and with considerable popular support. In that government it usually has the key positions—especially control of the police and of education. After a year or a little more the tendency is for the more liberal or democratic supporters of the regime to be pushed aside and for the inner core of Communists trained in Russia to gain the power. Increasingly there is pressure on the whole of the culture, including the churches. Also, increasingly the center of effective power shifts to Russia.

Communist Treatment of Churches

So far as the churches are concerned, the tempo depends upon the national situation. At the beginning, atheism and antireligious teaching are played down. There is a divide-and-rule policy with some favoritism toward particular churches. But relentlessly the pressure on the churches continues, not in order to destroy them but in order to control them so that they become effective instruments of the state. The Communists count on their capacity to draw the next generation away from the churches and so they often refrain from a frontal attack on the inner life of the church.

This description of tendencies is, of course, generalized and may not fit every country at the present time in detail. The important thing is for people in countries that are not yet under Communist rule to see that there are stages, that present propaganda and rumors about what happens in the first stages are very poor guides to Communist intentions.

Absolute Teachers, Absolute Rulers

Back of this development it is essential to see the unity of communism, the unity of its philosophy and its program. The philosophy makes room for adjustments and yet it seems to be able to attach the same absoluteness to later developments of communist thought as to the original teachings of Marx and Engels. The fact that those who represent each new development of the thought today have such power over the movement encourages this result. When the absolute teachers become absolute rulers there is almost no freedom for criticism. Deeper than philosophy or program, there is a communist faith which draws its power from the vision of the future. The conviction that is honestly held that they have the only key to the human

future, that if they can only eliminate their opponents and drive through to complete victory in the revolution—and this will mean victory over noncommunist nations by war or revolution—they will then be able to overcome all the evils from which humanity now suffers, makes it easy for Communists to convince themselves that any terror that will be effective against "the enemies of the people" is justified. Christians have almost come to a similar judgment in the course of waging war without being able to promise nearly as much to themselves or others as the consequence. I believe that the most fateful miscalculation which the Communists make is their assumption that if only the totalitarian state is successful in eliminating the opposition it will wither away. This makes it unnecessary for Communists to give any consideration to the conditions that make for freedom. Freedom is expected to come as a by-product of a successful revolution.

What Happens to Collaborators

This total system of thought and action which has many good elements generates the kind of faith that enables Communists to get results. Here the good in the system is essential to its persuasiveness to the Communists as well as to others. This is a perfect example of Professor Tillich's "demonic"—a technical term and not a term of abuse! The good in the system also undercuts a large part of the opposition and not until it is too late do those who are not themselves Communists wake up to what has happened. These are likely to be among the first victims of the very regime which they have helped to establish. Anyone who has the intellectual integrity to balk at full acceptance of all the changing clichés of the regime is in danger, perhaps in greater danger if he has formed the habit of giving partial support to the communist movement in earlier days. The slightest sign of one of the standard heresies on the part of a person who is nine-tenths Communist is a special danger.

I should add to these considerations the fact that dictatorship has its own logic which it is difficult to escape. If a small group has defended its power by terror, it naturally fears all who have been its victims if they are still alive and hence hesitates to relax its control. Moreover, the habit of using terror warns those members of the ruling group who show signs of some deviation of their fate if they fall from favor. The immense power of the Soviet Union stands back of the national Communist oligarchy and adds a factor which it is very difficult for any opposition to resist. The Red army does not have to march to do most of its work. Its existence is a deterrent to opposition.

What Should the Christian Do?

Any Christian who is tempted to give partial support to communism before it has won power in his country should take account of these characteristics of communism which I have outlined. If he joins united fronts for peace or other good objectives, he helps Communists to gain power. He will be used by them and, judging from past experience, he will not be able to use them. He should try to find methods of parallel action that will not give added prestige to the communist movement. He should be sophisticated about communist tactics. He has a responsibility to try to develop an alternative movement—in some cases an *alternative revolutionary movement* in the broad sense of the word revolution. He should also avoid allying himself with reactionary anticommunist movements.

This may leave the Christian without any political alternative which has a chance of gaining power. What he should do under those circumstances will differ from country to country. But it would be better for him to support no political movement and to work in indirect ways through the church for the development of the moral and spiritual conditions which in the future will be more favorable to an alternative, than to help communism win power. I am most puzzled about what a Christian should do when there is no chance of preventing communism from taking power. He needs, above all else, to strengthen the inner life of the church and to keep himself and others free from illusions. What temporary protective coloration he should allow himself to take on in order to gain time for the church and perhaps greater tolerance for the church is a problem of conscience that can hardly be settled outside the situation.

There is another problem that needs to be discussed but I shall only mention it: If we live in a Communist-controlled country, what attitude can we have toward the future? This communist system will break somewhere. It is too inhuman and too much of a rationally conceived scheme imposed upon history to endure long. It may last long enough to condemn one or two generations to a totalitarian tyranny of the kind I have described. That evil is too great to will it as a means to some end. But if communism is in power, we do have to accept that fact without despair. Communism may end in such a catastrophe of world war or revolutionary anarchy in many countries that no good deposit will be left. On the other hand, it is possible that it will end because of a splitting-up of the communist empire and the erosion of some of the more oppressive elements of communism in parts of that empire at least. George F. Kennan in his article "America and the Russian Future" (*Foreign Affairs*, April 1951) uses the word "erosion" to describe one of the future possibilities.

Never Help Communism to Power!

Let us go back to the beginning and raise one final question. Suppose there is a possibility that communism might change through a process of erosion that leaves some social gains, and suppose a Christian is living in a country where no alternative to communism seems to have any promise at all, what should he do? My answer—and I am prepared to have people say this answer is conditioned by the fact that I am an American—is that, even so, he should not help communism to gain power. To do so on the basis of such a remote possibility is not justified in view of the effective ways in which communism distorts both the institutions and the minds of men. While it has the power it is too thorough. Its thoroughness on the level of culture and the spirit is its greatest threat. It is one thing, if communism is already in power, to say that God can use it for his purposes, but it is quite another to say that we should try to use communism for God's purposes. There are times when faithful waiting, so far as political choices are concerned, combined with resolute action within the church

to prepare Christians to meet whatever comes, is the best choice.

I hesitate to say this without adding two warnings: we must not allow ourselves to make such a choice easily as a form of escape, and we must not allow ourselves to become instruments of reactionary anticommunism. Christian opposition to communism needs to be very critical of itself and always to stand on Christian ground.

Faith Steadies the Politician

Third Article in the Series on 'How My Faith Helped in Decisive Hours'

By Brooks Hays

IT IS DIFFICULT for a politician to speak naturally and without embarrassment of his faith. Some members of our profession have exploited religion, and the understandable reaction to this offense is to view with suspicion references by individual politicians to religious experience and conviction. I wish we might recapture the atmosphere, once prevailing in America, in which responsible officials could discuss religion without inhibitions.

Early in my own career I determined that I would not identify my candidacy with "a righteous cause." This is not to say that from the standpoint of moral values, political campaigns do not present clear choices. In many races "the right" is distinguishable as favoring one side over the other. I am pointing out, however, that invoking divine approbation for the purpose of gaining favor at the polls is not in our tradition and should be repudiated, as I believe it generally will be. (I recall seeing in a political advertisement in the campaign of 1950 the words "Vote Christian" above a candidate's name. He was overwhelmingly defeated.)

While I believe strongly in the practice of prayer in political matters, I question the use of prayer to seek victory for oneself or a favorite. I prefer the example of one of the country's great pugilists who was once asked if he prayed for victory in the ring. His reply was, "Would that be fair? With God on my side the other fellow really wouldn't have much chance, would he?"

Help in Deciding What Is Right

It is in the individual determination of grave policy decisions and political judgments that religious guidance has chief significance. My political course has been full of frustration, yet I believe that God has made his strength and his counsel available in the major decisions. I have not sought to determine through prayer a course of expediency and success but rather to find in resort to spiritual resources the answer to the question that stirs the heart of more public men perhaps than the people know, namely, What is right?

One of the most difficult problems confronting a public person is how to relate religion to his profession. It is not always easy to escape a self-righteous feeling that comes from applying moral judgments to the tremendous issues a public official must decide. Identification with the church often focuses attention upon a man's religious views. It may embarrass him in some situations; on the other hand it may give him a false sense of virtue. In any event not many of his reflections can get into political documents with propriety. It is not always easy to distinguish political utterances from those that belong strictly to private testimonies. I am still smarting from an unkind public reference to something I did as an "ostentatious display of reverence."

Even we hardened political workers are entitled to an occasional retreat to the household of faith. When I am privileged to be out of range of political shafts in the cloisters of faith, I have an opportunity in fellowship and in prayer to gain strength for the dilemmas that politics inevitably provides.

Paraphrasing St. Paul

It is with the hope that these personal meditations in a sensitive area of my life will help to convince readers that politics should not be religion's neglected field, that I attempt to express them. From the standpoint of statesmanship the idea was effectively stated by George Washington in his farewell address, in pleading for public morality which he knew could not be maintained "without the inspiration of religion." Every useful political career brings one at some stage to an appreciation of the sentiment expressed by St. Paul, and in such a situation we should be permitted to paraphrase his words, "Neither count I my political life dear unto myself."

The most meaningful experience of my professional life followed one of my early political campaigns in a succession of defeats. Before I was 32 years old I had twice been defeated for governor of my state, but in a special election for a congressional seat three years after the second attempt for the governorship I tried to retrieve something from the efforts I had expended in the intensive campaigns. It was a crucial race for me. I had angered the political leaders of one county in the district and they found an opportunity to punish me. With a registration of only 1,632 they reported 1,850 votes for my opponent, who was the beneficiary rather than the perpetrator of the scheme, and 616 votes for me.

Defeated by Fraud

A fraud had obviously been practiced. (Outside of that county I had a lead of 595 votes.) It became the subject of a long and tedious lawsuit. Technicalities blocked my efforts for a recount at every stage, and when at last the judge, a sincere, honest man who wanted to correct a wrong that showed on its face, had to dismiss my case

because of higher court rulings, I struggled against human reactions that would impair my faith. But my faith in God and in my fellow man survived that bitter experience. Indeed it was that faith that pulled me through.

Saved by Prayer

On the personal side the court decision meant the obliteration of my investment in public life—the denial of an office I had finally won. On the idealistic side it was the frustration of efforts in which I had joined with many people in Arkansas for a purging of corruption from the elections. In this mood I sat down on the fateful morning in a beautiful walnut-paneled courtroom to hear the judge deliver what I knew would be a ruling against me. I prayed. It might be more accurate to say I talked with God. I asked him not to desert me. I felt that he was on my side.

Here was suffering which was doubly bitter because it was unjust. But I did not want to be embittered or to develop cynicism toward the political system or the people embraced by it. I knew the truth in Henry L. Stimson's words, "Cynicism is the only deadly sin." I asked God to save me from it. I felt at the moment that he was answering my prayer. His presence was as real to me as the judge. The assurance I had as my case was dismissed, that nothing could hurt me if I was not hurt inside, was complete, and I walked out of the room as calm and unperturbed as I have ever been in my life. I hope I can be as sure in future crises that God hears us and provides the strength we need to carry on.

I said good-by to my friends outside the courthouse, some of them tearfully aware of the extent of my misfortune, and then walked alone to my office. A newsboy stopped me. "All about the election contest! Hays loses lawsuit! Want to know about it, don't you?" he asked as he took my nickel, one of my last ones. I said, almost audibly, "You'd never guess how much I *do* know about it." The most important thing about it I am sharing now for the first time.

Voting under Pressure

There have been other situations in which I felt the need of falling back finally upon the resources of faith. One of them came soon after I was elected to Congress, ten years after the experience I have just related. It involved legislation of a highly controversial character and there was considerable feeling about it in my district. I listened attentively to the debate because I was anxious to cast the right vote. I was convinced finally that I should vote against the pending bill. Several of my closest friends used phone calls to urge me to support it. One of them who had been prominent in my campaign was a friend to whom I felt such a strong obligation that it caused me real pain to have to say "No" to him. It was a matter about which he held a strong conviction and I knew that it might mean the severance of our political ties, though not of our friendship. His protests made me realize that I might have to pay with defeat for my own convictions. But I recalled that many others in places of governmental responsibility had faced even greater tests and had subordinated personal interests. Their examples encouraged me.

There was the incident, for example, involving my friend from a populous state who stood almost alone against his colleagues because he thought they were wrong. As he leaned against the back rail in the House chamber as the roll call began I asked, "How are you voting?" He said, "I don't know—I just know how I ought to vote, and how I vote will prove whether or not I am fit to be a member of this House." I was proud of him when I heard him vote against his political interest. More of that occurs, perhaps, than our people realize. My friend's reward for his courageous vote will come not in providential interference with his state's election but in the satisfactions of an honest heart and a consciousness of God's approval.

In the situation confronting me in this early congressional experience it was extremely difficult for me to vote against what I knew to be the prevailing opinion in my district. I wanted to remain in Congress, so the pressures were both political *and* personal. Most of my closest friends—those who had taken greatest interest in my campaign—were for an "aye" vote. I was unconvinced by the arguments, and voted "No." Again I had help in prayer. Sitting by an old friend in the House chamber who remained silent as the roll was called, perhaps because he knew of the conflicts troubling me, I asked God to help me—to give me the inner peace that comes from doing what one knows he should do. Millions had done it before and would do it again. As in the election crisis, I received the assurance that an answered prayer provides. I walked from the Capitol with the same calmness and peace that had come in the earlier experience. From these two experiences I have had my most convincing proof that the Eternal God is indeed our certain refuge, and underneath us are the everlasting arms.

Xenophon at Nineveh

(Anabasis, IV)

FROM southwest bastion to northwest we've come.
Pick up your feet, my lads! Pick up your feet!
For twenty miles, the silence cumbersome,
We have been dwarfed, gulped by a single street,
Walls fifty feet in breadth, four hundred high,
Brushing off hosts as Ossa parts the wind.
I am a fighting man, I certify
This city once the smiter of mankind!

In legend there is not a fort so great,
And yet she fell, she never rose again.
Unhood your musing eyes, my lads, lest Fate
Stamp in these ruins what, time was, were men!
Ten thousand soldiers here look merely ten!

I see stone pictures ordained by her kings;
On bended necks of realms they plant their feet;
While from their cruel pranks the world's law springs;
A frown made hearts of nations cease to beat.
Now at them small owls hoot, I curl my lip,
The jackal's timid cry derides their fame.
Fallen, fallen forever the arrogant whip!
No straggling! You may ease the blanket-grip.
The city? Faith, I do not know her name.

JOHN ACKERSON.

BOOKS

The Works of God?

WITNESS. *By Whittaker Chambers. Random House, $5.00.*

WHEN I had read the last page of this 800-page book and sat reflecting on what writing about it would involve, I found myself thinking, "Only God knows enough to review that book." I have been greatly tempted to set that sentence down here and let it stand as all The Christian Century has or wants to say about a most controversial document. To do so, however, would court misunderstanding; those who have not read Whittaker Chambers' agonizing attempt to analyze the part he has played in recent history might think me guilty of flippancy or cynicism. Those are the last responses *Witness* would ever draw from me. So, acknowledging that Chambers purports to tell of a spiritual struggle and achievement on which no one lacking omniscience can pass final judgment, let me try nevertheless to say a few things about a book which has deeply stirred me.

Enough of the Chambers book (about a fifth) appeared serially in the *Saturday Evening Post* so there is no need to tell what it is about. Yet the magazine version left out some of the parts which, because most introspective, are most important. The long section, for example, on "The Tranquil Years," was almost entirely omitted from the *Post*. It gives the best picture of Whittaker Chambers as Chambers wants him known. The magazine's emphasis was on the drama of the duel between Chambers and Alger Hiss. The book's emphasis is on the struggle within the soul of Chambers, dating from the day when he could no longer doubt he had a soul. The book is as personal a spiritual autobiography as St. Augustine's. And it is really not Whittaker Chambers trying to explain himself to me, the reader, but Whittaker Chambers trying to explain himself to himself, to justify himself, and asking to receive absolution from himself—that is, from his own conscience.

The key to the Chambers book is, I think, to be found in an episode on page 617. Henry R. Luce, Chambers' employer on *Time*, invited him to supper one night after the dramatic "confrontation" when Alger Hiss remembered that, after all, he had once known the former Communist courier. When the other guest left, Mr. Luce detained Chambers. There follows this passage:

> Alone, we sat facing each other across a low table. Neither of us said anything. He studied my face for some time as if he were trying to read the limits of my strength. "The pity of it is," he said at last, "that two men, able men, are destroying each other in this way." I said: "That is what history does to men in periods like ours."
>
> There was another heavy pause. I knew that there must be something that Luce wanted to tell me or ask me, but I was too weary to help him. Suddenly he said, "I've been reading about the young man born blind." Frequently Luce asks his editors about stories in *Time* which they should have read and realize guiltily that they have not read. I reacted with that old *Time* reflex. Apologetically, I said, "I haven't read *Time* for the last two weeks."
>
> "No, no," Luce said impatiently, "I mean the young man born blind. It's in the eighth or ninth chapter of St. John. They brought our Lord a young man who had been blind from birth and asked him one of those catch questions: 'Whose is the sin, this man's or his parents', that he was born blind?' Our Lord took some clay and wet it with saliva and placed it on the blind man's eyes so that they opened and he could see. Then our Lord gave an answer, not one of his clever answers, but a direct, simple answer. He said: 'Neither this man sinned nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.' "
>
> Slowly, there sank into my mind the tremendous thing that Luce was saying to me, and the realization that he had brought me there so that he could say those words of understanding kindness. He was saying: "You are the young man born blind. All you had to offer God was your blindness that through the action of your recovered sight, his works might be made manifest."

That's a pretty long quotation, but there, in essence, is what Whittaker Chambers thinks his testimony against Hiss, his book, his life, the "witness" which he has tried to bear to his countrymen and his generation, is all about. His is a Calvinistic conviction that everything which has happened to him or because of him has been to make manifest the mighty works of God. For him the world is a battlefield on which just one issue is being fought out—the issue between God and those who would destroy him. It is worth recalling that the last major piece Chambers wrote for the Luce publications (I don't remember whether it was in *Time* or *Life*) reported a "Conversation with the Devil." Chambers is convinced that he came to know the Devil well and served him faithfully during the 13 years he was a Communist.

I will not say anything about the book's account of the Hiss case beyond remarking that I do not see how anyone can read it and retain any doubts as to Hiss' guilt. But I believe that many readers of The Christian Century will find it one of the most extraordinary features of Chambers' self-analysis that this tortured man sought his way out of the night into which his communist dedication had betrayed him with the aid of such guides as Reinhold Niebuhr, Kierkegaard, Dostoyevsky and the members of the Quaker meeting in which he finally found peace. (One of Chambers' most remarkable contributions to *Time* was his "cover story" on Niebuhr, the feature of its 25th anniversary number.)

One result is the lack of hatred, even of any strong sense of indignation, in his attitude toward Hiss. This is convincingly shown, so far as I am concerned, in the brief section on "The Bridge," and even better revealed in the account (p. 615) of his feeling at the climactic moment when Hiss' face showed that he knew he had been trapped by his own equivocations:

> . . . Through my mind as I watched that moment of fleeting panic on Alger Hiss's face, passed two lines of Kipling's that my friend, James Agee, had once pointed out to me:
>
> *Father in Heaven, Who lovest all,*
> *Oh, help thy children when they call. . . .*

This is not to suggest that the Chambers book leaves me without questions. I have scores. Does not his account of his experience in the "open" Communist party, for instance, suggest that it is a collection of neurotics and ineffectuals from whom nothing is to be feared? And if the "underground" is as pervasive and as well seated in the haunts of power as Chambers insists, does he offer any conclusive evidence that to his knowledge it carried through any espionage of much importance or influenced government policy to any large degree? Certainly the Russian agent thought very little of what the elaborate photographing of documents participated in by Chambers and his "apparatus" produced.

The warnings against the "underground" are, I believe, justified; there are the cases of Klaus Fuchs and the British scientists. But these are not in this book. Chambers' belief that there is a causal connection between Hiss and the Communist triumph in China will not be historically proved (or disproved) in this generation; he himself offers only an assertion, not proof. I should say that, for me, the most unsatisfactory feature of the Chambers book is that it does not make clear enough what Hiss and all the others named as Communist agents—including Chambers himself—actually *did* to make the various underground "apparatuses" worth much to the Russians or the horrifying danger we are told they were to this country. Of course, I know that just having Communists in the government structure in Washington was a danger.

But such questions cannot obscure the importance of what Whittaker Chambers is trying to say. "The Hiss case . . . was more than human tragedy. Much more than Alger Hiss or Whittaker Chambers was on trial. . . . Two faiths were on trial. Human societies, like human beings, live by faith and die when faith dies. At issue in the Hiss case was the question whether this sick society, which we call Western civilization, could in its extremity still cast up a man whose faith in it was so great that

he would voluntarily abandon those things which men hold good, including life, to defend it. At issue was the question whether this man's faith could prevail against a man whose equal faith it was that this society is sick beyond saving, and that mercy itself pleads for its swift extinction and replacement by another."

To speed the answer to these questions, says Chambers, "I was a witness. . . . A man is not primarily a witness *against* something. That is only incidental to the fact that he is a witness *for* something. A witness, in the sense that I am using the word, is a man whose life and faith are so completely one that when the challenge comes to step out and testify for his faith, he does so, disregarding all risks, accepting all consequences." You'd better not miss the Chambers book. And you'd better not be satisfied with the magazine version.

PAUL HUTCHINSON.

Books in Brief

LETTERS. *By Saint Basil. Translated by Sister Agnes Clare Way. Fathers of the Church, 475 Fifth Ave., New York.* The present volume contains the letters numbered 1 to 185 in the copious correspondence which St. Basil carried on with Athanasius, Eusebius, the Emperor Julian, Gregory Nazianzus, and many of his other contemporaries. The weighty, not to say decisive, influence of Basil on the development of monasticism makes his writings particularly important. This edition—like all the volumes of the extensive series to which it belongs—is well translated and carefully edited.

THE STORY OF OUR HYMNS. *By Armin Haeussler. Eden Publishing House, St. Louis, $6.00.* There have been several fairly recent books about the great hymns of the church, but none on quite the ample scale of this one. If it seems to lack comprehensiveness by limiting itself to the contents of the hymnal of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, that restriction is more seeming than substantial. The fact is that hymnology is more ecumenical than any other phase of the church's activity, and persons who were never in an Evangelical and Reformed church in their lives may find themselves thoroughly at home in this collection of classic hymns. The first half of the work is devoted to the exposition and story of each one of the 561 hymns contained in the hymnal on which it is based. The second part is a very complete biographical dictionary of all the composers, authors and translators represented. The total work runs to almost 1,100 pages. Members of the communion which this work directly represents will probably not need to be told about it or exhorted to use it, but it is worth emphasizing again that the usefulness of such book is by no means confined to those who use the particular hymnal to which it refers.

BUILDING CHURCH MEMBERSHIP THROUGH EVANGELISM. *By Dawson C. Bryan. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $2.00.* Dr. Bryan has probably had as much experience as any man in America both in the actual practice of pastoral evangelism and in training pastors to practice it. At present he is one of the two ministers of First Methodist Church, Houston, Tex., said to be the largest Methodist church in the world. The point to be stressed, however, is not the size of the church but the amplitude of the author's experience and the success that has attended it. The book is an explicit, point-by-point textbook in the methods and procedures of visitation evangelism. The greater part of it is devoted to the techniques of the organizational and preparatory work that must be done before a campaign of visitation evangelism and the training of the lay members who are to do the actual work of calling. The four lectures that constitute this condensed training course are given in full. The enthusiasm which the book conveys and the definite instructions it gives can be of value to a church of any denomination or of any theological complexion, whether conservative or liberal.

W. E. G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Germ Warfare

SIR: The Christian Century of May 14 carried an editorial, "A Time of Horror," which has been read with great interest. The intimation that the United Nations may be guilty of the accusation of germ spreading is noted. One year ago, in Red China, during my 15 months waiting for an exit visa, I daily read such charges against the United Nations, though it was only the United States that was mentioned. Coupled with accusations of germ warfare were also such things as the statement that the U. S. had torture chambers worse than the Hitler gang ever dreamed of.

Such extravagant statements lead to serious doubt that there is any truth in the accusations made. Moreover, the fact that the United Nations' request, repeatedly made, for a careful investigation by the Red Cross was never granted by the Reds, would seem prima facie evidence that there was no basis in fact for the charges made.

While under the Reds, it was of course impossible for me to comment upon what I read in the papers where no world news was reported, but where daily there were columns filled with condemnation of America. These papers I was expected to read so as to be ready for calls from the police. There is enough of horror in any present-day war, but it does not seem necessary for us to accept the grosser accusations made, especially when the United Nations urges an impartial investigation.

Iola, Kan. PERRY O. HANSON.

[This paper has never accepted the Communist charges. We believe them false. But we cannot *prove* them so.—THE EDITORS.]

Bacteria in Korea

SIR: Your editorial "A Time of Horror" (May 14), on the use of bacteria in Korea, leaves much to be desired, reminding one of the "Unnecessary Necessity." Evidence of bacteria was presented at the World Council of Peace in Oslo recently, and an attempt was made to form an impartial committee of investigation, but where to find such a committee was the problem. The bacteriology expert of Sweden offered to serve if his government would permit, but it did not. Sweden carried her role of neutrality to the point of fear of the powerful.

If the bacteria incident did take place, it could well have been without the knowledge of the military authorities, done by hysterical young airmen who would have purloined bacteria tubes for the purpose. We have had plenty evidence of the inhuman acts of small groups of military acting on their own, especially in the Pacific, and such a thing might well have been repeated in Korea. This alleged atrocity has not been denied by the only reliable evidence, namely, that there are no bacteria in the armory of the United Nations in Korea. Too many people would be aware of the fact for such a denial to be made.

HERBERT G. PURCHASE.

Princeton, N. J.

[Is our correspondent "aware" that the U.N. has bacteria in its Korean "armory"? We certainly are not.—THE EDITORS.]

All We Can Do Is Wait

SIR: The editorial "A Time of Horror" made me think. I began to ask myself a number of questions. My first question was, Why did The Christian Century come out with a categorical denial of the charge that the U. S. is spreading germs in Korea? Lord Ponsonby wrote many years ago, "When war is declared, Truth is the first casualty." During wartime our minds are so poisoned by propaganda that we unconsciously believe what our state department publishes. Hitler was right when he said: Repeat a lie often enough and the people will believe it. That is what is happening in America today, and it has even captured the minds of the editors of The

Christian Century. The Christian Century cannot say and dare not say that the charge that the U. S. is spreading germs in Korea is a "big lie." All we can do at present is to await developments and see what the facts in the case will bring to light.

One thing we do know from the report in the London *Economist* for April 12, as quoted in the same editorial, is that Britain *is* spreading germs in Malaya.

Newton, Kan. J. P. BAEHR.

Not One-Way Traffic

SIR: For many years it has been the custom of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, backed by choirs from Harvard and Radcliffe College, to give one or the other of the great "Passions." This year they rendered Bach's *St. John Passion* during Holy Week.

Those of us who attended what must be called the service rather than the concert were somewhat puzzled not to find in the program the words of the "Passion" in both German and English translation, as we had found them in past years.

The next morning Rudolph Elie, the musical critic of the *Boston Herald*, said in his review (April 11), "A truly shocking thing stepped between the audience and the performance yesterday in the unforgivable omission of the text in the program. Amazed by this omission I inquired the reason and learned to my stupefaction that the Gospel according to St. John had been censored. . . . I do hope that the group that censored the New Testament will realize the far-reaching implication of its action and withdraw its censorship immediately."

The *Herald* itself in a news item on the same date said, "The Gospel of St. John was 'edited out' of the program for yesterday's Boston Symphony Orchestra concert of Bach's *Passion according to St. John.*"

On the following Sunday Frederick M. Meek, minister of the Old South Church in Boston, said in the course of his Easter sermon that many persons, as they go from Palm Sunday to Easter, try to detour Calvary. He then went on: "A shocking example came to pass in Boston this past week. Pressure was applied to the Boston Symphony Orchestra to omit the English text of the Gospel story of the crucifixion from their *St. John Passion* program on the grounds that some people find the Gospel story objectionable. And the tragic thing is that the trustees of the Boston Symphony Orchestra yielded to that pressure. It was both a shameful and a cowardly thing to do. What is the difference between that kind of censorship and the burning of books which a Hitler does not want the people to read?"

A day or so later I ventured to send a letter to the editor of the *Herald* saying that I thought the community was entitled to know who these censors were. Were they self-appointed individuals acting independently? If so, who were they? Or were they representatives of some official organization, and if so what organization? The letter was acknowledged, but never printed. To tell the truth, I had not expected that it would be printed.

The whole incident suggests that in our interfaith ventures we must face the fact that not all the traffic is one-way traffic.

WILLARD L. SPERRY.

Cambridge, Mass.

Not Representative

SIR: A letter in the Feb. 20 issue captioned "Don't Ratify," referring to the "noncommunist National Congress for the Promotion of Peace" with its presumed 3½ million supporters, strikes me as exceedingly naive. Leave aside the debatable question of whether the movement is noncommunist. One would suppose that the people here are seething with opposition and that Shintoists and Buddhists especially are taking the lead in opposing the peace treaty. As a matter of fact the movement referred to has attracted little national attention. The Buddhists, Shintoists and Christians participating in this movement are in no way representative of their fellow believers and one looks in vain for any indication that they have any widespread influence in religious circles.

As far as I know no large religious organization of any faith has endorsed the position represented by the above-mentioned movement. On the contrary, the National Christian Council of Japan has addressed a communication to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in which it says: "We are grateful that this treaty was made in the spirit of reconciliation and trust as its basic principle, and we believe with you that it 'lays the groundwork upon which a durable peace in the Far East may be built.'" I enclose a copy of the communication for your reference.

WILLIAM P. WOODARD.

Tokyo, Japan.

Hope and the Average Man

SIR: I trust that you will not take amiss a few words from that oft-quoted "average American preacher." I believe we have some stake in this controversy which is raging over hope. To put it bluntly, there are many of my kind who must earn our daily bread through our ability to interpret the Christian hope to countless other "average Americans." These to whom we must preach are not concerned about what historical criticism does with Jesus' statement that "this generation shall not pass away until these things are fulfilled." Neither are they interested in theological argument as to just how Jesus is the ground of our hope. They are people living under the daily bombardment of a press filled with reports of their government's obsession with military security. They live very near to a "police action" which they do not understand but which is taking their sons and husbands. Let the "Committee of 25" live with these folk and preach to them for the next year of our lives. Their approach to the problem will become very practical.

Paul stated his notion of where in Christ the ground of the Christian hope lay when he said, "We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed; knowing that he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also with Jesus and bring us with you into his presence." As if to make it emphatically clear that it is "the power of his resurrection" that is our ground for hope, the apostle goes on to state his faith in God's providing a "house not made with hands," a statement prefaced with the exclamation, "So we do not lose heart!" We have only to remember this man's life to know that his hope, grounded as it was in the relation of Christ's resurrection to our own, did not issue in a life of resignation in the face of this world's evil.

The common folk who go about their daily round, just as they have done all their lives and will continue to do, find hope in the belief that "in all things God is working for good with those who love him." If ever there was a text for a Christian's hope in this world we have it here. Through prayer these folk have related themselves to this Power who is working for a better Now. It works in this way: We are not apt to put ourselves into actions that will bring about our death. The fear of death circumscribes our activity so that we do not venture onto the dangerous bridge, nor go unarmed into a jungle, nor stand against a multitude for our convictions. We do not, that is, unless we are convinced that there is a power working in us or with us that can overcome death. Armed with this trust we then reason: "If the God in whom Jesus of Nazareth trusted could set his seal of approval on a life spent trying to better the lot of his fellow man by winning their love for this God, and if this seal of approval is the resurrection, then death holds no fear for me. This God must be at work with all those who seek the good. Therefore I shall work with God for good, knowing that he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also."

This message of hope for our labor in this world speaks meaningfully to the "average folk" of our world. I know, for they have been cheered by its proclamation. In Leicestershire, England, stands Old Staunton Herald Church, built in a day when the country was torn by civil strife. Over the door of that church one reads today: "In 1653 when all things were throughout the nation either demolished or destroyed Sir Robert Shirley founded this church, whose singular praise it is to have done the best thing in the worst time and to have hoped them in the most calamitous."

Men do not build churches without hope for this world. Truly this is a hope which we can understand, and "which does not disappoint us." Let Evanston speak to us of this hope! ALBERT O. KEAN.

Bethany Memorial Church,
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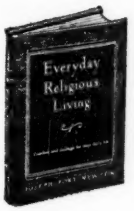

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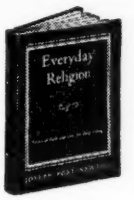

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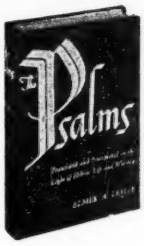

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NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Fear Loss of Our Freedoms

Presbyterian, U.S.A., Assembly Is Concerned over Loss of United States Liberties—Favors Union

NEW YORK, May 28.—Urgent concern for imperiled religious and political liberties marked the 164th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., which ended here today. The 800 commissioners, representing the 2.5 million members of this communion, were alarmed over our "unmistakable trend toward authoritarianism and thought control." In the most incisive and plain-spoken statement made by any denomination in recent years, they urged church members to oppose current practices of character assassination, illegal detentions, imputations of guilt by association, and use of loyalty oaths as a means of thought control. Their statement stood even though commissioners who felt it might be misunderstood later got the body to approve a resolution commending those who protect the nation against spies and fifth columnists.

Ask Churches to Act

The commissioners called upon each Presbyterian church to "investigate infringements of human rights and personal liberties in their own communities and to act in concert with other churches and civic groups in stopping them.

Condemning civic corruption, the assembly urged the church to uphold the "command of God for truth and honor at the very heart of our private and public morality." It confessed that "shocking and dramatic manifestations of social evils are sustained in the often unchallenged and sometimes unrecognized duplicities of nominal Christians." It opposed all forms of gambling; advocated restraint, economy and taxation as a means of combating inflation; thanked the National Council of Churches for representing Presbyterians and other Protestants in opposing a U.S. embassy at the Vatican; and commended collective bargaining. It asked that the United Nations be accepted as the cornerstone of American foreign policy and as the "main reliance of this nation for the realization of U.S. security objectives." Floyd E. McGuire was chairman of the committee which wrote and secured the adoption of this social education and action report.

Move Toward Union

Definite progress was made during this assembly toward union among three churches—Presbyterian, U.S.A., Presbyterian, U.S., and United Presbyterian. The commission on interchurch relations sought and got permission to present to the next General Assembly the plan of union which is now being worked out. The plan will also go to the 1953 assemblies of the other denominations.

Meanwhile a series of joint projects in evangelism and stewardship, in relation to chaplains and in the publication of a hymnal, is being worked out. If the plan goes through—and the belief is general here that it will—a new denomination of 3.4 million members, to be known as the Presbyterian Church of the United States, will emerge. A feature of the plan is a simultaneous exchange of pulpits by the ministers of the three groups.

This assembly gratefully received a remarkable fraternal message from the U.S. church, which said in part: "We believe that there is now more genuine understanding between the two parts of the divided church than at any previous time since 1861. We thank God for the ever stronger ties which bind us together in Christ Jesus. We acknowledge that from our side during 1861 and in the years which followed, some words have been spoken, articles written, charges made, and resolutions adopted which have not been worthy of our Lord Jesus Christ or his servants. We freely grant the forgiveness you beg in this respect, and humbly ask you to forgive us for whatever our assembly or our people have done which was unworthy of our dear Lord or which has wounded you, our brethren in this same Lord."

No Action on Federal Union

This assembly approved a recommendation of its commission on interchurch relations that it take no action on an overture from the Cincinnati presbytery "that the General Assembly express its approval of the plan of federal union of churches as proposed by E. Stanley Jones." It sought to strengthen its ties with the World Presbyterian Alliance, the World and National councils of churches, the American Bible Society and the Lord's Day Alliance.

In welcoming the commissioners, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey said: "I have heard rumors that the National Council of Churches may possibly consider leaving New York. I want you to know that we would regard that as a catastrophe. I realize that if I had said the opposite I would have had a greater amount of applause. Speaking as governor of New York and as a member of a sister church, which is Episcopalian, I always felt a very close relationship with the Presbyterian church. I just want you to know that we like to have the National Council here and all of its wonderful constituent parts for what they contribute. We do not want you for any taxes you pay because you don't. We just want you here because we really want you and we think you can probably do more good in New York than anyplace else in the country."

Put 'Sin' in Lord's Prayer?

It was frequently remarked that this assembly was less spirited than most, but some issues stirred debate. An overture from Nebraska proposed to eliminate for purposes of public worship the words "debts" or "trespasses" from the Lord's Prayer and to substitute, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us." Alexander Mackie, president of the Presbyterian ministers' fund, called this "silly tampering" and said energy would be wasted in such debate and should be devoted to raising the denomination's "Capital Building Fund." (It's for $12 million; over $6 million has been received or pledged.) Guy Volpito of South Euclid, Ohio, favored the change. "'Debt' is not the right word," he said. "Let's be true to the language and not to

(Continued on page 710)

Stage Debate on Church Authority

Thousands Flock to Stillwater, Okla., to Attend Series by Catholic Priest and Protestant Minister

OKLAHOMA CITY, May 27.—In Stillwater, home of Oklahoma A & M College, a debate on religious authority between Fr. Beevers of St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church and Eldred Stevens, pastor of the local Church of Christ, brought 4,500 visitors from 14 states to that community of 20,000 May 14-17. By the third night of the debate, the Catholic church was filled to overflowing. Outside, a crowd of nearly 2,000 milled about the lawn hoping to gain entrance or get within hearing distance, and an additional 1,500 waited in or atop their cars. The already overburdened facilities of the town were swamped, and press and radio reports went out over the nation.

Debate Ends In Draw

In the series of four debates, Fr. Beevers supported the position that the Roman Catholic Church is the original apostolic church of Christ. Mr. Stevens maintained that the New Testament is the final authority for the Christian religion, and that the pattern of the early church which it establishes is far different from the present Roman Catholic interpretation. The controversy ended with no winner declared. Both Fr. Beevers and Mr. Stevens said their appearance in public debate had fulfilled its main purpose—to stimulate thought on the part of the American people and to lead them to investigate truth in the realm of the Christian religion. Fr. Beevers said his appearance was purely a personal matter and that he did not speak as a representative of the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Stevens, a Texan, has the A.M. degree from the University of Houston.

Templeton Evangelistic Program Appreciated

Residents of Oklahoma City gained a new respect for mass evangelism after the meetings in the city auditorium addressed by Charles Templeton, evangelist for the National Council of Churches, March 23 through April 6. Sessions were held every noon and evening. The series was sponsored jointly by the Oklahoma City council of churches and the National Council's department of evangelism. Wide newspaper and radio publicity was given to Templeton's daily appearances. While some disappointment was expressed at the size of the attendance, the campaign was definitely a success, and all financial obligations were met. Musical solos by the evangelist's wife and choral numbers by joint choirs from the city's churches were a part of each evening's program. Congregational singing was led by C. Mason Harvey, whose wife, a former motion picture actress, proved a popular speaker at meetings of high school and college

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students during the two weeks. Among the nationally known ecumenical leaders here for the series were Margaret T. Applegarth, Jesse Bader, Robert A. Fudge, Mrs. H. D. Haberyan, Lem T. Jones, Adolphe Keller, John G. Ramsey and Frank J. Sladen.

Women Study Work of City's Benevolent Institutions

Emphasis in the observance this year of May Fellowship Day by Oklahoma City's Protestant women was on gaining information at first hand. They gathered at a central meeting place, then went in caravans to study the city's various benevolent and legal institutions whose task it is to help solve problems of juvenile delinquency and to bring aid to the needy. Annually hundreds of women here take part in observance of May Fellowship Day, which is sponsored by the National Council of Churches' department of United Church Women to promote fellowship and cooperation among Christian women.

More Divorces than Marriages In Oklahoma City

Citizens of Oklahoma county were shocked to discover that in 1951 there were 3,944 divorces in the county as compared with 3,516 marriages. This information, released to the press by a county judge and the county clerk's office, was published along with a report from a county officer that 15 to 25 petitions for divorce were being filed each day the courthouse is open. Last week the *Oklahoma City Times* revealed that on a single day recently 12 marriage licenses were issued, 10 petitions for divorce were filed, and 6 divorces (involving 5 children) were granted. Thus it seems that no better record is being set for 1952. Social workers, ministers and county judges realize the problem is acute. There is much discussion, but everyone agrees that too little is being done to remedy the situation.

And So Forth

Two new church buildings were dedicated here the week of May 4: a modern education building for Crown Heights Christian Church (of which this correspondent is pastor) and a new sanctuary for Westminster Presbyterian. Congressman Walter H. Judd spoke at Crown Heights' dedication, Dean Edward Howells Roberts of Princeton Theological Seminary at Westminster's.

Oklahoma City's Protestant young people are constructing a youth center in the city's underprivileged area. It will be named for Billy Hooton, son of Caradine Hooton, pastor of First Methodist Church, who lost his life in World War II.

St. Luke's Methodist Church was host to the city's 1952 cooperative church school institute May 5-9.

Pres. C. O. Smith of Oklahoma City University has headed a campaign to underwrite further the Methodist institution's service to the community and the state and to enlarge its facilities. The old downtown Y.M.C.A. building has been purchased to house the university's law and night school classes.

This city's more than 500 teachers will get a $200 annual salary increase beginning in the fall.

J. CLYDE WHEELER.

Minnesota Court Upholds Regents

Says They Must First Be Appealed to by Alumnus Seeking to Have Religious Activity at University Banned

MINNEAPOLIS, May 26.—Minnesota's supreme court has advised W. L. Sholes, Minneapolis attorney seeking to have religious activities banned from the state university, that before it can act he must make his demands upon the university's board of regents. Mr. Sholes, acting in his own behalf, says he will not do that because such action would be "futile." He has not yet decided on his next step, but he may appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. In its decision, Minnesota's highest court did not rule on the legality of the university's providing from public funds facilities and a coordinator for students' religious activities. Mr. Sholes contends that this policy violates the constitutional principle of separation of church and state.

Regents Apparently Approve Current Plan

What the state supreme court did was to affirm a prior ruling by a Hennepin (Minneapolis) county district court judge that the university board of regents is a "body corporate" with which courts may not interfere as long as it stays within the powers conferred on it by its charters. It pointed out that if citizens are allowed to go to court without first giving the regents an opportunity to act, the result will be to "clutter the courts with matters often involving nothing more than the ordinary conduct of the university." "We have no reason to suppose that the regents would deny relief if convinced that the acts complained of were contrary to the constitutional proscriptions against such acts," it added. Mr. Sholes contends that the regents have made it clear that they do not consider the campus religious activity he criticizes illegal, and he feels that they do not intend to alter it. According to a statement made by Pres. J. L. Morrill of the university after the regents met last Sept. 29, the board "affirmed a plan to stand behind the right to do as is being done." He said the regents discussed Sholes' litigation and expressed their intention to go to the highest court in the land if necessary to maintain religious activities on the campus.

First Covenant Pastor Named President of N.A.E.

Paul S. Rees, since 1938 pastor of First Covenant Church here, was elected president of the National Association of Evangelicals at its recent convention in Chicago. Dr. Rees is highly respected by both the liberal and conservative elements of Protestantism in Minneapolis. His church makes a larger than average contribution to the support of the Greater Minneapolis council of churches, and he gives leadership to a number of the council's activities. A graduate of the University of Southern California and a Phi Beta Kappa, Dr. Rees comes from a Quaker background. On his return from a recent globe-circling

trip, he declared that we must follow a course of "patient friendliness" with other countries and be slow to "write them off because they do not fall immediately into the Western pattern of democracy." "The United States must do more to correct the feeling of the peoples of Asia that we are still committed to support governments that tolerate feudalism and other forms of economic exploitation," he said. On his trip, Dr. Rees visited some of the 35 missionaries to whom his 1,500-member congregation gives full or partial support.

State Council Accepts CROP Sponsorship

The Minnesota council of churches has voted to accept responsibility again for the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP). The program was started in the state five years ago under council auspices, but during the past three years it has been operated in association with Catholic Rural Life and Lutheran World Relief. Return of CROP sponsorship to the state council follows termination of the program as a national joint undertaking of these agencies and Church World Service for the collection of farm produce for overseas relief. Total value of products contributed in last year's CROP campaign in Minnesota was $110,000.

Plan Temperance Crusade

The United Temperance Movement is seeking 25,000 Minnesotans to join its "freedom crusade club" by investing $1 or more per month for a year in a "constructive and positive campaign of temperance education." Officials explain "freedom" in the title as referring to freedom from "the curse of alcoholism, broken homes and divorces, juvenile delinquency and the menace of alcoholism in our moral, social and economic life." The crusade was launched at a dinner which 200 persons attended at the invitation of Minneapolis' mayor, Eric G. Hoyer, an abstainer.

And So Forth

The 1952 Holy Week services sponsored by the Greater Minneapolis council of churches in a downtown theater had the highest attendance ever recorded for this annual observance—9,332. Theater facilities were provided without charge. Speaker at each service was Carl S. Winters, pastor of First Baptist Church, Oak Park, Ill.

Legislation enabling the Methodist North Central jurisdictional conference to appoint an extra bishop for the present St. Paul area was passed during the denomination's General Conference in San Francisco. If the jurisdictional conference approves at its July meeting, two new areas will be created—one for Minnesota and another for the Dakotas.

Scores of local clergymen were guests of the Minneapolis chamber of commerce at its second annual "clergy and business" day. They heard the American free enterprise system praised, then divided into groups to visit 22 business firms for lunch, plant tours and talks with management.

The problems a clergyman meets in visiting the sick were discussed by some 100 pastors at an institute on pastoral counseling conducted recently at the University of Minnesota's center for continuation study. WILLMAR L. THORKELSON.

Move Against Ku Klux Klan

In North Carolina, Federal and State Courts Sentence Men Accused of Perpetrating Violence

WELDON, N. C., May 27.—State and federal authorities in this section are moving quietly but steadily ahead in dealing with violence inspired by the Ku Klux Klan. In federal court at Wilmington, N. C., 10 defendants were recently convicted of conspiracy in a flogging case. The week before, 11 men were convicted in state court in Columbus county, N. C. Although the sentences imposed were light, the courts left no doubt that they considered the Klan activities an "attack on the law" which should be firmly suppressed. In Robeson county, N. C., four alleged Klansmen are awaiting trial under an old statute forbidding membership in secret societies. Twelve others originally indicted under the statute have taken advantage of a provision in the law permitting them to renounce their membership. Authorities predict additional indictments. U.S. Attorney Charles Green announces that the activities of Thomas L. Hamilton, of Leesville, S. C., the Klan's "grand dragon," are being investigated with a view to possible prosecution.

Racial Issues Do Not Figure In Primary Campaign

In the campaign preceding the North Carolina Democratic primary for state offices and congressional seats, there has thus far been no repetition of the agitation on the racial issue which characterized the senatorial campaign two years ago. In three eastern counties, charges have been made that Negroes are being discriminated against in their attempts to register; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is investigating, but no legal action has yet been taken. Gubernatorial Candidate Hubert Olive has been endorsed by Kerr Scott, incumbent governor, whose administration has been liberal and progressive. Olive's opponent, W. B. Umstead, takes a middle-of-the-road position; so the issues are not being sharply contested. Most delegates to the North Carolina Democratic convention this week are expected to favor Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia as the presidential nominee, but they will probably go to the national convention uninstructed. There seems no likelihood of a party bolt in North Carolina if a liberal is nominated in Chicago.

North Carolina Medical Society Announces Insurance Plan

Prodded by what it considers the threat of "socialized medicine," the North Carolina medical society at its recent convention announced a plan for expanded voluntary health insurance. The program, designed for families with incomes under $3,600, will be handled through existing Blue Cross associations. It provides for additional benefits covering surgical treatment outside as well as inside hospitals and for physicians' fees during hospitalization. The society's announcement made no mention of payment for general medical care

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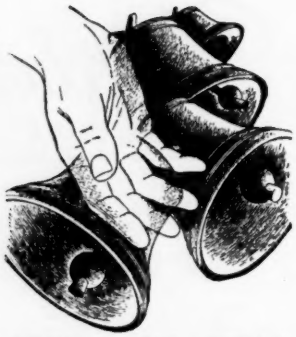

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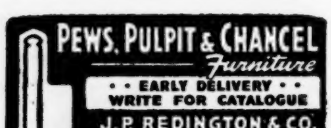

in the home. A recent report to Gov. Scott by the University of North Carolina's educational research bureau emphasizes that the state is falling far short of properly caring for its mentally ill, especially in the training of mentally deficient children. The report calls for enlargement of present institutions and construction of at least two additional training schools.

Prepare for Duke Convocation, A.F.S.C. Institute

Leading off in the round of summer conferences in this area is the Christian Convocation next week at Duke University. This annual event is becoming one of the major religious affairs for the many ministers and others who attend it. This year the James A. Gray lectures are being given by Dean Liston Pope of Yale Divinity School on "The Ministry to the Community." John S. Whale of England, currently a visiting professor at Drew Theological Seminary, is the convocation preacher. . . . Among the speakers at the 19th Carolina Institute of International Relations to be sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee at Greensboro in mid-June are Eddy Asirvatham of Boston University, Herbert S. Deighton of Oxford University, Kermit Eby of the University of Chicago, and Luther Hodges, formerly chief of industry for ECA in Germany. The A.F.S.C.'s southeastern regional office recently engaged William Roosa, Congregational minister and formerly a teacher at Texas Christian University, to promote peace education through the denominations.

And So Forth

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is moving its headquarters from Chapel Hill, N. C., to Black Mountain, near the interracial, interfaith conference center it is developing. Robert Barrus of Celo Community has been engaged to assist Howard Kester in directing construction at the center this summer. Development of the center and organization of local groups are the fellowship's main emphases for 1952.

The North Carolina council of churches is expanding its ministry to migrant farm workers. Under the council's leadership, slow but steady progress is being made in placing chaplains in state institutions. This year the council is cooperating with the Christian Rural Overseas Program in promoting food collections in 60 counties for overseas relief. HENRY G. RUARK.

Send Fijians to Malaya

Methodist Church Worried Over Use of Young Soldiers, but Is Silent

BANDUNG, INDONESIA, May 5.—Although the Methodist Church of Fiji, to which 9 out of 10 of the islanders belong, has misgivings about the sending of Fiji soldiers to fight in Malaya against the communists, it has so far made no official pronouncements against the action. The *Pacific Islands Monthly*, published in Sydney, says that Europeans have criticized the church for its silence. It has not spoken, says this paper, because "to declare opposition to the government's offer of active support against the king's enemies, would, in Fijian eyes, have ranged the Methodist Church against a decision made by Great Britain and Fiji in the name of the king." The monthly reports that it is believed that the church has protested to the colonial office about the sending of the 1st battalion of the Fiji infantry regiment to Malaya Jan. 8. It says that the church fully appreciates the dangers of the situation in Malaya, but is concerned over the serious effect that the withdrawal of hundreds of their most promising young men will have on the islands.

Seventh-Day Adventists Minister To Former Cannibals

A. J. Campbell, Seventh-Day Adventist missionary in New Guinea, recently visited Miarasa, the country's last cannibal outpost. In the February *Pacific Islands Monthly* he describes the meetings he held there with as many as 1,500 in attendance. Until the Christian message was carried to the area, he writes, the people practiced cannibalism not only on their enemies but also on their own dead. Now converted natives are carrying the Christian faith into hitherto untouched areas. N. A. Ferris of Tonga has replaced Mr. and Mrs. F. P. Ward in the Seventh-Day Adventist mission on Pitcairn island.

Pioneer Missionary to Solomons Retires

Australian Methodists, who officially deplore smoking, presented J. F. Goldie, for 50 years a missionary in the Solomons, with a smoking stand on his retirement to Melbourne. Mr. Goldie, sometimes referred to as "that cigar-smoking man of God," is, at 81, seeing through the press his translation of the New Testament into the New Georgian language. He plans to return to the Solomons this month for celebration of the golden jubilee of Protestantism there. New Zealand Methodists have subscribed £116,000 for rehabilitation of war-damaged institutions in the Solomons.

And So Forth

The new building of the Free Wesleyan Church at Nukulofa on Tonga island in the New Hebrides is nearing completion. The building is said to be the largest on the island. Its 22,000-square-foot roof can collect 750,000 gallons of water a year.

The Australian Church of Christ Mission Board maintains in the New Hebrides a mission with eight Western missionaries, 50 churches with 3,000 members, a small hospital and a dispensary. Also at work in these islands are the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Seventh-Day Adventists.

Grady Parrott, president in the U.S. of the Missionary Aviation Fellowship, visited New Guinea early this year to re-establish the fellowship following the fatal crash last year of Pilot E. B. Hartwig, an Australian member. This organization of Lutheran lay workers—most of them former airforce pilots—was established six years ago to provide communication among the isolated mission stations.

On the late King George's New Year's honors list were Dorothy Lilly Beale, sister in charge of the Methodist hospital at Kimidau, New Ireland, and Grace Morrison, founder of a famous nursing home at Suva, Fiji. WINBURN T. THOMAS.

Seek Christian-Industrial Ties

New Scottish Organization Plans Work in Factories—Fund Shortage May Curtail Missions Program

EDINBURGH, May 17.—A notable approach to the problem of the church and industry in Scotland is being made by a new organization called S.C.I.O.—the Scottish Christian Industrial Order. (See II Tim. 1:12: "*Scio* . . ."—"I know in whom I have believed.") The Church of Scotland's Home Board lies behind the venture, but all denominations are lending a hand and leaders of industry as well as of trade unions are among its sponsors. The organization plans to set up in factories branches which will be "spearheads of the Christian church in industry" concerned that "human relations should be on the Christian level and industrial organization and methods should conform to the Christian standard." Over 1,000 laymen from 28 presbyteries of the Church of Scotland attended the opening meeting in Edinburgh; several busloads of miners came from the west of Scotland. Among those most keenly interested in the movement are the 290 industrial chaplains now working in Scottish factories. All political parties except the Communist are represented on the list of sponsors.

See Necessity of Curtailing Foreign Missions Work

Heavy deficits, failure to reach the financial target set seven years ago, and ever increasing costs which have upset past estimates form the tale of woe told by the Church of Scotland's mission committee in its annual report. As a result, it says, our mission work abroad must be curtailed. The church is £36,000 short of the goal of £240,000 set for this year. Even if that target had been reached, costs have risen so much that it still would not suffice to maintain the work at its present level. Says the committee: "The great field of missionary service may become one of the lost provinces of religion." Many consider this too sweeping a statement, but the Church of Scotland Assembly will be profoundly concerned and distressed by the report when it convenes May 20. The committee has often been sadly short of funds, but actual retreat, officially and on such a scale, has never been known before. The report acknowledges a shortage of missionary candidates, which it blames on the fact that so many minds today are influenced by caution and a desire for security.

Congregationalists Approve Church Union

The Scottish Congregational Union's ecumenical committee gives its blessing to church union on an episcopal basis in South India. It notes that "the value of episcopacy is in its usefulness as a form of church government rather than as a means of transmitting grace." (The Episcopal Church in Scotland, by the way, would repudiate any such interpretation of episcopacy.) The committee emphasizes the cordiality of its relations with the Church of Scotland. It says: "We recognize that an evangelical concern animates both the Church of Scotland and the Congregational Union, the lack of which in the former was one of the chief reasons for the founding of Congregational churches in Scotland." The Congregational Union is solvent, but many of its ministers receive barely a living wage, and there is a shortage of pastors.

Lists Seven Modern Deadly Sins

In the Warrack lectures on preaching, E. D. Jarvis of Wellington Church, Glasgow, suggested that preachers might follow up consideration of the seven deadly sins in their original form with those in modern guise. These he lists as pleasure without conscience, cleverness without character, science without humanity, wealth without work, industry without morality, politics without principles and religion without reality. He remarked that sensuality in its uglier forms can be vanquished, but the idea that everything should be taken as it comes, that nothing is really more important than anything else, is death to all moral earnestness and Christian endeavor. Scotland is probably not alone in the vast blurring of both vision and authority which has smudged her old strict sense of values and rugged independence.

Concern Over Results of Bad Housing Increases

In conjunction with health authorities, Edinburgh presbytery has been holding a "health week," particularly in reference to tuberculosis. This disease, which could be completely stamped out, has as one of its main roots bad housing and overcrowding, from both of which Scotland suffers. This country has six times the overcrowding of England, and the failure of the Labor government to deal adequately with the situation was a main factor in its defeat. There are signs that Labor is inclined to a much livelier criticism of the pace of building now that it is the opposition. Latest figures do show an acceleration in the building program. Churches of all denominations are increasingly concerned over bad housing as a breeder of delinquency. A recent survey revealed that in Glasgow one out of three boys leaving school lives in a home where conditions of crowding are worse than three persons to a room. It was also shown that the worse the boys' housing conditions, the greater the prevalence of crime and unemployment and the greater the resistance to evening classes, organized social groups and church attendance.

And So Forth

Recent statistics show that more than half of Scotland's adult population are professing communicant members of some church. Of these, 65 per cent belong to the Church of Scotland, 25 per cent to the Roman Catholic Church, and the rest to the Congregationalist, Baptist or Methodist churches, to the Episcopal Church in Scotland, or to others, including the small Presbyterian groups outside the Church of Scotland.

At a recent meeting of the Church of Scotland's lending library committee, John Howat, director of religious instruction of youth, said that leading educators are more and more shedding their secularist presuppositions and reaching out for a philosophy to give meaning and coherence to what they are doing. Many of them, he said, are finding what they need in the Christian principles, values and interpretation of

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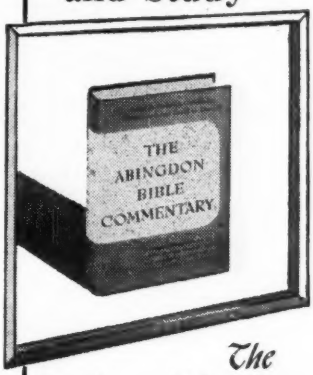

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life. Such a judgment from one who has special opportunity to know the facts is welcome in contrast to the often depressing estimate of Scottish life in the mass.

INNES LOGAN.

Urge Parish Revision

Reformed Church in Holland Seeks Way to Give Equal Pastoral Service

BEVERWYK, HOLLAND, May 16.—A recent report reveals that of the 300 Dutch Reformed congregations here which at present are without a pastor, half cannot afford to employ one. The Dutch Reformed Church has 2,400,000 members. Of these 400,000 are in 750 congregations, but the remaining 2 million are in only 570, with 1,120 ministers. The reason for this discrepancy is that many of the smaller congregations which date back hundreds of years own large properties. They are therefore unwilling either to combine with other congregations or to disband. This means that 13 per cent of the church's membership employs 40 per cent of the ministers. At the same time, the new congregations in the rapidly growing suburbs have no property whatever and must find the money to buy lots (a costly business) and erect buildings. The report calls for a drastic revision that would combine smaller parishes and make more ministers available for the larger ones. It figures that a congregation can support itself if 500 families are willing to pay annually 20 florins (about $5.25) each.

'Church and World' Institute Trains Personnel Workers

The "Church and World" institute, through which the Dutch Reformed Church trains laymen for special tasks, is to offer a new course this fall. Fifty persons who have completed high school will be launched on a four-year course which will fit them to become personnel managers in large industries—a form of training not heretofore offered in this country. When they graduate, the students will be prepared to assist social workers in factories and lead in industrial counseling and human relations programs. A similar course will prepare students to serve in rural areas as youth leaders in community centers, educational directors for farmers' organizations or teachers in agricultural schools. The government and industry will grant subsidies for the new course. Church leaders hope that the project will help erect a dike against the increasing mechanization and rationalization of society. Since its inception after the war, "Church and World" has turned out 75 graduates—laymen who are at work both within and without the church as evangelists, youth leaders and social workers.

Lutheran Mission Society Observes Centennial

The Lutheran Society for Missions recently celebrated its centennial with ceremonies in Amsterdam. Prof. J. J. J. Schepper represented the Netherlands Mission Council and Prof. F. W. Groscheide the Netherlands Bible Society. In the principal address, Pres. J. P. van Heest of the Lutheran Synod recalled how a century ago Ludwig Carl Lensz launched the mission program against a tide of conservatism. He declared that the mission effort renews the life of the home church which engages in it. Pres. P. Boendermaker of the Lutheran Society for Missions reviewed the work of the past century and called attention to what must be done in the future. He said there are two things for which to be thankful: that the society had never forgotten its Lutheran heritage and that its missionaries are constantly reminding the church of its responsibility.

And So Forth

The Salvation Army is celebrating its 85th anniversary in the Netherlands this month. It now has 124 corps and 600 officers at work in some 40 stations where it carries on programs for the care of derelicts, alcoholics and dependent mothers and children.

A poll by our "Gallup" institute reveals that 64 per cent of this country's adults say grace before meals and 32 per cent do not; 4 per cent of those queried made no reply.

A campaign is under way to raise money for an ecumenical center as a memorial to Pres. S. F. H. J. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel of the Dutch Council of Churches, who will retire from his professorship next fall. The center is to contain staff offices, conference rooms and a library.

In an example of ecumenical cooperation, Theodore W. B. Gramberg, a Dutch Lutheran minister, has been called to serve the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon. Mr. Gramberg has spent many years as a missionary in Indonesia. Among his other duties in Ceylon will be that of ministering to the 17 per cent of the students at Kandy University who are Protestants—a considerably higher proportion of Protestants than in the country at large.

J. O. NOREL.

PRESBYTERIANS, U.S.A.

(Continued from page 704)

our custom." The overture was approved and a committee to deal with the matter was appointed.

This assembly voted after some debate to permit the inclusion of ministers in the government's social security plan provided they choose to enter. The issue was referred last year to the presbyteries for vote and carried 85 to 43. Harold E. Nicely of Rochester, who led the push for inclusion, informed this assembly that the question had also been referred to the National Council of Churches for advice, but the General Board refused to act until the denominations had made up their mind. He likened the N.C.C. to a convoy whose speed is determined by that of the slowest ship, and "some of the denominations in the council are not exactly greyhounds of the sea." The Presbyterians should act, he said, and prove they are the flagship of the fleet. Dr. Nicely discussed the two main issues involved. Does inclusion constitute a subsidy for the church? Not any more than the exemption of the churches from taxes, he said. Many colleges and seminaries include their faculties in social security.

Fear Church-State Tie

Dr. Nicely then dealt with the issue of separation of church and state. He said

nobody would be compelled to enter the federal social security plan and participants could withdraw at any time. The ministers of Canada are included on a voluntary basis in the Canadian old-age benefit plan. Nobody says American freedom of the press is jeopardized by the fact that newspaper employees are included in Social Security. He then justified the move on the ground that the church is delinquent as an employer, as shown by the fact that in 1929 salaries of religious workers were 17 per cent above the national average, whereas now they are 25 per cent below. He maintained that inclusion of the clergy in federal benefits would not impair the strength of the church's pension structure. The opposition from the floor attempted to counter this point by declaring that the freedom of the ministry would be impaired, for the government tends to control anything to which it gives money. Debate was then shut off by a motion from the floor and the proposal carried by a large majority.

National Missions to the Fore

The election of Herman N. Morse of the Board of National Missions to the moderatorship of the 164th General Assembly was one way in which this meeting noted the 150th anniversary of that board, which was the first of its kind in America. Jean Milner of Indianapolis, for many years the president of this strong board, told the commissioners that "the story of the settlement of America is the epic of the expansion of Protestant Christianity across this continent." He pointed out that in 1860 we had 264 colleges, all but 17 of which had been started by the churches.

The General Assembly was host to a great popular meeting, held in Madison Square Garden. The pageant "Presbyterian Panamora," written by Helen Kramer of the staff of *Advance*, the Congregational Christian publication, and directed by Leon Leonidoff, producer of Radio City Music Hall programs, was presented. A 75-minute motion picture, "And Now Tomorrow," had its premier at Carnegie hall; it will be available for showing in the churches.

Remarriage Permitted

This assembly, with the approval of a majority of the presbyteries, acted to permit ministers to remarry divorced persons "when sufficient penitence for sin and failure is evidenced, and a firm purpose and endeavor after Christian marriage is demonstrated." Inadvertently, the assembly dropped the rule that divorced persons must wait a year after the divorce. To correct its position, it sent an overture to the presbyteries for approval and urged ministers to observe the rule until the law is amended. The church sanctions divorce only on grounds of adultery or willful desertion.

The report of the Board of Foreign Missions was gloomy, owing to lack of funds. Dr. Brown, a Princeton political scientist, pointed out that in 1921 the yearly cost of maintaining a missionary on the field was $1,127; now it is $2,687. The board has over 35 ordained men ready to go but no money to send them, while new fields beckon and old fields, excepting China, need new men. The assembly goes to Minneapolis in 1952. H. E. F.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children.

Deadline—U.S.A. (Fox) Ethel Barrymore, Humphrey Bogart, Kim Hunter. *Melodrama.* In the few days of grace before sale of respected newspaper by uninterested heirs, staff rallies to prosecute crusade against local crime network, turns up evidence that brings indictments. A *taut,* exciting film that *makes its points for a responsible, competitive press.* It stoops, however, to artificially motivated melodrama to bring about final solution. **M,Y**

The Marrying Kind (Col.) Judy Holliday, Aldo Ray. *Drama.* Flashbacks from domestic relations court hearing reveal differences—real and fancied—which led very ordinary young Brooklyn couple's marriage to disruption. Direction and performances are *perceptive;* we are vividly aware, painfully so at times, of the nature of the human beings involved. Often humorous, often tragic situations are presented without sentimentality. **M,Y**

The Red Ball Express (Univ.) Jeff Chandler, Alex Nicol. *Drama* celebrating exploits of army truck drivers who kept supplies coming through to Gen. Patton's tank corps in its dash through France after Normandy invasion. *Hackneyed characterizations pall,* but the action is strikingly presented, the relations among the men resolved with good sense and an appeal to judge individuals on their merits. Fewer Negroes appear than their part in the actual exploits warrants, *but the film is constructive in its handling of the racial angle.* **M,Y**

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Alice in Wonderland, An American in Paris, The Emperor's Nightingale, The Greatest Show on Earth, Kon-Tiki, The Man in the White Suit, Nature's Half Acre, Navajo, No Highway in the Sky, The Pride of St. Louis, Room for One More.

For Mature Audience: The African Queen, Bright Victory, Death of a Salesman, Decision Before Dawn, Detective Story, Fourteen Hours, God Needs Men, The Lavender Hill Mob, Murder in the Cathedral, Oliver Twist, A Place in the Sun, Quo Vadis, The Red Badge of Courage, The River, A Streetcar Named Desire, Viva Zapata! 6-11-52

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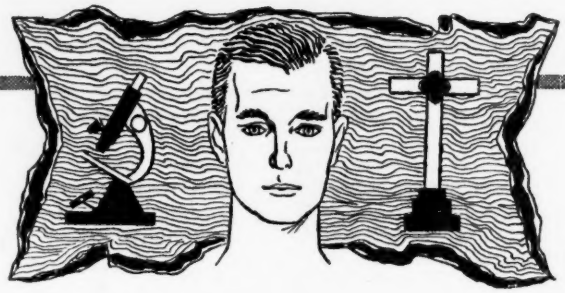

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